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Malvern (1941) as a Pioneering Venture in Christian Ecotheology

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Abstract

The 1941 Malvern Conference included significant environmental statements, which have gradually been forgotten. In this article I point out their relevance and discuss their possible influence. I analyze the background of these environmental statements and suggest that British theology has probably had a stronger role in environmentalism than has previously been understood. I analyze the ecotheological positions of Malvern and William Temple in the context of a typology of ecotheological stances as developed by Willis Jenkins. While the exact influence of Malvern is difficult to analyze, I refer to sources which show that the environmental content was noticed by certain prominent thinkers and contributed for its part to the development of ecumenical ecotheology.

Article

[W]e must recover reverence for the earth and its resources, treating it no longer as a reservoir of potential wealth to be exploited, but as a storehouse of divine bounty on which we utterly depend (*The Malvern Declaration of 1941* 1991, 29).

The Malvern Conference of 1941 (later: Malvern) was significant in many regards, and it had a pioneering role also in environmental thinking. Some scholars of the conference have noticed this, but in general this is not at all well known. The same applies to the pioneering role of theologians from the British Isles in providing ideas and incentive for the whole development of Christian environmentalism. In my study of early ecotheological thinking, the first high-level church

statements about environmental matters that I found were made at Malvern. The next ones are only from the late 1960s, many decades after (Pihkala 2017).

In this article, I analyze the environmental contributions of the Malvern Conference. I briefly discuss the background influences for Malvern and the reception of its environmental content. While the exact influence of Malvern is difficult to analyze, I refer to sources which show that the environmental content was noticed by certain prominent thinkers. The research is made more complicated by the lack of research of early environmentalism in general, which I will discuss next.

Environmentalism before the Environmental Movement

Gradually environmental historians have challenged the prevailing assumption in public discussion, and in many academic works, which claims that environmentalism only truly began in the 1960s, or that at least nature conservation changed into wider environmental concerns around that time. A new kind of environmental movement was indeed born in the 1960s, with various developments around the globe, but before that many persons, communities and organizations did pioneering work regarding environmental protection. Historian Joachim Radkau (2014) calls this “environmentalism before the environmental movement”. It comprised of various areas of activity, such as creating nature preserves, reducing air and water pollution, resisting erosion and removing environment-related health hazards.

Environmental historians and scholars of religion have not yet fully combined their forces, but studies which draw from both fields have started to emerge (Stoll 2015, 1997). Personally I have focused on “ecothology before the ecotheological movement”, studying early twentieth-century forms of Christian environmental thinking and action (Pihkala 2016, 2017). Several terms can be used of research on these issues, and the options include “Christian/religious environmentalism”, “ecological theology”, “Christianity/religion and nature” and “Christianity/religion and the environment”. The concepts related to “nature” are notoriously difficult to define in a precise manner and I will not here dwell upon that.¹

Research on the early forms of Christian environmentalism is often made more difficult – and at the same time more important – by the fact that in the countries where it took place, Christianity was at the time deeply integrated within the societies. In other words, it is often difficult to separate the Christian influence from the general phenomenon. I believe that this has been one reason for the lack of understanding of the role of Christians (and other religious people) in early forms of

environmentalism. It has often been forgotten that Christians took part in the actions of secular organizations or public institutions.

Great Britain is a fine example of this difficulty and importance.² In the history of the British Isles, there have been theological currents which promote the value of nature, such as certain strands of Celtic Christianity and Anglicanism. At the same time, there have been pioneering forms of nature conservation and environmentalism in Great Britain. Scholars have for a long time suspected that there is some kind of link between these two, and indeed there is evidence of certain Christian figures participating in for example early efforts in animal protection (Nash 1989, 36, 46–47; Linzey 1987).

However, in works on environmental history of Great Britain, there is not to my knowledge much discussion on the theme, except for general discussion about the influence of certain creation-oriented Christian thinkers, such as John Ray (1627–1705). What is yet missing from these works, and actually also from works on history of Christian environmentalism, is the role of several British Christians and the Malvern Conference (cf. Sheail 2002; Simmons 2001).

A major factor which has contributed to this amnesia of early Christian environmentalism is the so-called Lynn White -debate since the late 1960s, in which especially Western Christianity has been accused of manifesting anthropocentric attitudes and action towards the world of nature. As a response to these claims, many Christians and theologians started to speak and write on environmental themes (Whitney 2013). The question of anthropocentrism and critique of Christianity has continued to be an important part in environmental philosophy and ethical discussion until recent times, although it has generally been recognized among scholars that the relation between various worldviews and environmental attitudes is a very complex question (cf. Taylor 2016; Taylor, Van Wieren, and Zaleha 2016). In addition, the paradigm of anthropocentrism has been challenged and it has been argued that other frameworks should be used in order to more carefully evaluate the environmental activities of a certain group (Jenkins 2009).

The debate sparked by Lynn White and others has caused many people to believe that there was no Christian environmentalism before the late 1960s, and the fact that most Christian literature on the subject was indeed published only after that has strengthened the view. In addition, I suspect, along with some other scholars, that the shape of later environmentalism has caused some “anachronistic” methodical problems: if similar environmental organizations are sought from earlier times, they are

not found, but there were other kinds of environmental activity (cf. Hamlin and McGreevy 2006). All this has probably contributed to the lack of knowledge about the environmental content in Malvern, along with a generational gap: after the people present at Malvern had resigned from active duties, public memory faded.

Background for Malvern: British Theology of Creation and International Influences

I have not conducted a full study in history of ideas about the roots of environmental thinking at Malvern, but I have found out that at least two areas of thought contributed to it. First, British theology has a long history of providing positive insights about the value of the created order, in other words “creation” or nature. Second, agrarian thought and Distributism contributed to the atmosphere of environmental thinking in the period. A third possible source of influences is other international environmental thinking, which I will briefly discuss below.³

There are various views regarding the origin of the creation-affirming elements in Anglican and British thought. Some see the natural environment of the Isles as an important factor, others emphasize the Celtic legacy in relation to this. The certain ecumenical nature (sic) of Anglicanism has probably contributed to the situation: some Anglicans have integrated nature-affirming thought from certain forms of Protestantism, Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholic traditions (for an historical overview of ecotheology, see Santmire 1985). Figures in Anglican and British tradition who have been credited of nature-affirming thought are the early Anglican theologian Richard Hooker (1554–1600); the so-called Caroline Divines, meaning the poet-theologians of the seventeenth century, namely, John Donne, Thomas Traherne and George Herbert; the seventeenth-century theological school called the Cambridge Platonists; the natural scientist-theologians of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, especially John Ray; certain poets, some of which were theologians, such as Gerard Manley Hopkins, Samuel Taylor Coleridge and William Wordsworth; and the theologians who wrote the theological treatise *Lux Mundi* from 1889 (Price 1993; Peacocke 1987; Allchin 1975; Raven 1953).

The intellectual tradition of “process thought”, comprised of process philosophy and process theology, has been very influential for environmental theology. It is not widely known that early forms of this stream of thought were discussed in Britain since the 1920s. Anglican philosophical theologians integrated process thought into their theologies in various ways: F.R. Tennant (1866–1957) focused on questions of sin and theological anthropology in relation to evolution, while Lionel S. Thornton (1884–1961) appropriated Alfred North Whitehead’s ideas theologically in *The*

Incarnate Lord in 1927. The American scholar Gary Dorrien sees Thornton and Charles Raven (1885–1964) as the most important theological interpreters of Whitehead in Britain, along with William Temple (1881–1944), who sought a theological adaptation of process thought (Dorrien 2012, 428, 431, 437; Peacocke 1987).

Canon Raven was a highly influential but also contested figure. He was a sparkling intellectual who published books on many fields, such as history of Christian thought, history of biology and systematic theology, and a passionate preacher. He was keen about natural sciences and considered the dialogue of religion and science as his main task. Raven contributed much to social ethics, working for example at the influential COPEC gathering in the 1920s, but his later pacifism – he was a military chaplain in World War I – drove him somewhat to margins in the time of World War II. A friend of Temple, he made efforts to convince the archbishop that nature was not merely a stage, but had inherent value (Pihkala 2017, Chapter 4; Dillistone 1975).

Raven was not present at Malvern, but it is possible that the theology of nature which he and certain other theologians promoted did contribute to the atmosphere of Malvern. Cambridge theologians John Oman (1860–1939) and Herbert H. Farmer (1892–1981) also stressed the importance of the natural world. Oman's *The Natural and The Supernatural* from 1931 was a major inspiration for both Raven, Farmer and certain later theologians who contributed to ecotheology, such as Australian Charles Birch (Pihkala 2017, Chapters 4 and 7). However, in the lack of sources the influence of Malvern remains of course speculative.

The early forms of (Christian) environmental thought from other countries probably had also some effect on Malvern, but again the sources do not show this explicitly. The major proponents of environmental thought at Malvern, such as Vigo A. Demant (1893–1993), had participated into international discussion and read works by others who had too, such as the ecumenical pioneer J.H. Oldham (1874–1969). My research has practically been the first study on international ecotheology from the period, and future research may reveal more. Early proponents of ecotheology include American agrarian-related thinkers, of which more below; and German theologian Paul Tillich (1886–1965), who Demant knew. Fascinatingly, social theologians such as Walter Rauschenbusch (1861–1918), a leading “Social Gospel” thinker, were found to venture into ecotheological reflections (Pihkala, Chapters 3–5). It is very possible that these works had been read by some of the Malvern participants.

An intriguing topic for further research would be the participation of Christians and theologians into early forms of environmentalism in Britain. Demant at least was aware of early environmental literature, as is seen below. It may well be that in this sense environmental pioneers, including lay people and perhaps even secular thinkers, contributed to the ecotheological discussions in Malvern. Whether American environmentalists – such as “transcendentalists” like John Muir (1838–1914) who had Scottish origins – had an influence on the Malvern participants, I do not know.

Environmental Thinking at Malvern

The printed presentations of Malvern show that several thinkers discussed environmental themes. Although most of them did so only briefly, this is still much more than what is commonly expected from a (church) conference in 1941.

As the leader of the conference and an outstanding figure in the theological scene at the time, William Temple was evidently in an important role as regards also the environmental content in Malvern. Although his theology provides a possible and even influential framework for ecological theology, he seems to not have engaged himself extensively in this theme. One of his most important works, his Gifford Lectures *God, Man, and Nature* (Temple 1935), built on the Anglican nature-oriented theological strain, and he coined the phrase “the sacramental universe” to describe his views. Temple was much inspired by his predecessor Charles Gore (1853–1932), who was a leading figure in the production of *Lux Mundi*. For both Temple and the *Lux Mundi* theologians, Incarnation was the key to understanding how God used material instruments for purposes of salvation. This use was called sacramental because the material and spiritual were joined: in addition to Incarnation, the Eucharist was a crucial starting point. The “sacrality” of material things (“nature”) spread from the Incarnation and the Eucharist to the whole world, indeed to the whole universe. Temple made an effort to integrate process thought into sacramental and Incarnational theology (cf. Lønning 1989, 230–251).

The preparatory material of Malvern included a call to reflect on the doctrines of “Creation, Incarnation, Redemption and Grace”, which suited Temple’s theology well. However, the material did not include significant environmental dimensions, although the “revival of the Rural Community” was one concern (*Malvern* 1941, ix–xiii). In his opening speech, Temple did not dwell upon environmental issues. Since Temple had a notable role in the preparation of the final statements, he has in practice approved the environmental dimension also, even while it is not known whether he made efforts to strengthen it or not.

The leading proponent of environmental themes among the Malvern presenters, Vigo A. Demant, was one of the leading British social theologians of the time and a man of wide reading, who wrote and lectured on a wide range of subjects. He is perhaps best remembered as an important member of the “Christendom” Group of Anglo-Catholic thinkers, whose members included T.S. Eliot, W.G. Peck and M.B. Reckitt. The group endeavored to “establish the centrality of what they termed ‘Christian sociology’, an analysis of society fundamentally rooted in a Catholic and incarnational theology.”⁴ Malvern marked the high point of the group’s impact on the Church of England and many of its members were presenters (Cunningham 2004; Wollenberg 1997).

Interestingly regarding his environmental sensibilities, Demant had Danish background; I have found out that several of the pioneering ecotheologians in North America also had Scandinavian heritage (Pihkala 2017). Demant referred to emerging environmental literature, such as *The Rape of the Earth* from 1939 and *Famine in England* from 1938, in his presentation. During that period between the World Wars, agriculture and rural living was already in a crisis (Brassley, Burghardt, and Thompson [eds.] 2006, esp. 12; Simmons 2001, 202–208, 225). Many people in Britain and the US, including agrarians, looked for guidance from Distributism, the bold social agenda devoted to economic democracy and shared ownership of productive means. Catholic thinkers G.K. Chesterton (1874–1936) and Hilaire Belloc (1870–1953) were read both sides of the ocean (see Lanz 2008).

Demant’s ecotheological approach in Malvern has distributist tendencies and includes emphasis on the significance of agrarian life. As will be seen, these views of Demant were included also in the final environmental statements of Malvern. Demant argued that the “Trader Man” has gained dominance over the “artist man”: economic interest has outplayed all other interests. Demant’s definition of the “artist man” is notable: such men are “makers, users and enjoyers of things” (Demant 1941, 137; cf. similarities with Sittler 1964, 97–98). In order to restore economy to “its proper function,” Demant listed three main guidelines: “(1) Dethronement of Trader Man, (2) Restatement of the Problem of Unemployment, (3) The Recovery of Agronomic Responsibilities, i.e., recognition of man’s organic dependence upon the earth” (Demant, 136).

Regarding ecumenical (eco)theology, it is significant that both Demant and Oldham, who he was in contact with, included discussion on the positive ecotheological contributions of Eastern Orthodox thinkers, especially Vladimir Solovyev (1853–1900). Demant stated that “There is a profound religious side to the need for recovering a respectful attitude to the earth,” and argued that this

notion had been expressed better by Solovyev than by most Western thinkers (Demant, 147). Much later, Orthodox ecotheology would have an increasingly influential role (Pihkala 2017, Chapters 4 and 7), but the examples of Demant and Oldham show that there was certain interchange between East and West in Christian environmental thinking at a very early phase.

It is notable that Demant gives such a strong emphasis on the relations between humans and earth. His presentation goes beyond the Malvern statements in this regard:

Humanist man has treated the earth just as he has behaved towards Almighty God; he has lived on it without recognizing his dependence; he has used the life it has given him to turn against it in aggressive self-dependence and exploitation; and he turns to it conscience-stricken in emergencies for a quick recovery from calamities” (146).

The theme of the interconnectedness of a person’s relationship to God and his relationship to nature was strongly derived from John Oman’s thought by Raven and H.H. Farmer (Pihkala 2017, Chapter 4). Demant approaches the theme from an interesting perspective. Another aspect in which the presentations went further than the final statements was the writer Dorothy Sayers’ (1893–1957) emphasis on the sacramental significance of matter and nature, based on the Incarnation. She sharply criticized Christian interpretations that seek detachment from the world of material things, culture and nature. The church “must include a proper reverence for the earth and for all material things; because these also are the body of the living God” (Sayers 1941, 67). Thus, already in 1941 Sayers was hinting at an ecotheological interpretation that uses the notion of “the body of God” in relation to nature. This interpretation would become widely recognized from the 1980s onwards, especially through the work of Sallie McFague (cf. Deane-Drummond 2008, 150–151).

Among the other presenters, Reverend W.G. Peck mentioned in passing humanity’s responsibility to be “nature’s priest,” but he did not explain the content of this role at all in reference to the actual world of nature (Peck 1941, 34–35). Middleton Murry (1889–1957), an exceptional figure who was famous as a writer, pacifist and communist, took up the theme of rural living in his address. Murry participated in an experiment in communal farm living, and his views may have shaped Malvern’s statements on rural living. However, he did not engage in ecotheological discussion (cf. Murry 1941, 192–195).

The final statements of the Malvern Conference included three specific ecotheological notions. The declaration begins with ten basic principles called “Foundations of Peace,” given under the subtitle

“A Christian Basis – Agreement among the Churches.” The tenth of these provides a stewardship argument, the place of which is highly significant among the basic principles: “The resources of the earth should be used as God’s gifts to the whole human race, and used with due consideration for the needs of the present and future generations” (*The Malvern Declaration of 1941* 1991, 23). Another paragraph (18.) links an “acquisitive temper” to the “existing industrial order” and blames it for “recklessness and sacrilege in the treatment of natural resources” (28). The document’s third mention of environmental issues, in paragraph 26d (29), was quoted at the beginning of this article.

Thus, social justice and environmental justice are strongly connected in the Malvern statements. The statements display “stewardship” ecotheology, emphasizing the right use of natural resources. The notion of intrinsic value of nature (often derived from theocentric arguments in Christian theology) or an emphasis of interconnectedness are not present, although the stated need for “reverence for earth” points to the former direction (see Jenkins 2008 for this typology of ecotheological stances).

Reception of the Environmental Content of Malvern

Further research would be needed to clarify the influence of the environmental content of Malvern, and I fear that much information has already been lost with the passing of generations. There are two possible narratives of this influence. The first hypothesis is that the environmental content did not have much of an impact. It appeared too early, while the people were not yet ready for wider environmental concern. The world war drew attention from such issues. The Malvern statements were wide-reaching and other topics gained more attention.

On one hand, the available sources would seem to support such a hypothesis, and the social context was definitely not in favor of major concern for the environment. The environmental dimension is not discussed in studies which situate Malvern in the history of Christian social thought in Britain (cf. Machin 1998, 128–131; Wollenberg 1997, 119–121). There is a lack of discussion about Malvern even in the few works which deal with the history of Christian environmentalism in Britain (cf. Berry 2003, xiv–xv; Butterfield 2012, 10–11). In my studies, I have not found much ecotheological literature from Great Britain from the period between Malvern and the late 1960s.

However, on the other hand, another narrative is that Malvern did have an impact on environmental thought, but one which has been neglected in studies and is in many ways difficult to show. I believe this to be true, based on the sources that I have been able to find. The issue is closely linked

to the problematic of early environmentalism, which I discussed above. There has simply not been enough research, because it has so often been thought that no significant environmental thought existed before the late 1960s. It would be important to research the newspaper coverage of Malvern in relation to environmental themes: did the journalists discuss them? As seen below, at least some theological and environmental commentators did discuss them. I presume that many people who had what we would nowadays call environmental concerns did notice the environmental content and were probably uplifted, as Sir Albert Howard's example below shows, but there are not necessarily much written sources about these kind of responses. Research of them would require interviews, but most of such people have already passed away. I do not know how much written material by early forms of environment-related groups could be found – such as small-scale journals –, but if these do exist, it would be interesting to know whether Malvern was discussed there.

I will now discuss the sources that I have found which refer to the environmental content of Malvern. The following year after Malvern, William Temple published his best-selling *Christianity and Social Order* and cited the ecotheological statements of Malvern (26d) in his discussion on land. Temple's treatment of the subject is anthropocentric and closely related to interhuman justice issues, especially ownership of the land. He stresses that humans are dependent on nature, using the term "mother earth". Humans should own the land which they work on and take care of it as "steward and trustee for the community" (Temple 1942, 117–119). Thus, there are basic rudiments for "dominion"-type ecotheology in Temple's book.

The Malvern statements itself were widely publicized, and the wide readership of Temple's book ensured that numerous readers became aware of the ecotheological elements in Malvern. Fascinatingly, a theological reviewer, K. E. Barow, lifted up the environmental dimension and continued with his own musings: "This order of nature we have distorted and defiled: and this wanton social sin is still unrepented. It is visited generation after generation" (Barow 1942). This stands as proof that at least some members of the theological audience did take notice of Malvern's call for ecotheological reflection.

Most significantly as regards environmental thought, the Malvern ecotheology was noticed by Sir Albert Howard (1873–1947), a major figure in the development of agriculture and organic farming. Before quoting the Malvern statements, Howard writes: "The general thesis that no one generation has the right to exhaust the soil from which humanity must draw its sustenance has received further powerful support from religious bodies" (Howard [1947] 2011, 13; for Howard, see Conford 2004).

It is fascinating that Howard gives such a prominence to the role of religions. His comments prove that at least some people with environmental concerns noticed the Malvern statements, and Howard's book carried their influence further. While Howard's impact was greatest in Britain, he had an international influence also. For example in America the significant agrarian writer Wendell Berry was in his turn influenced by Howard, and much later wrote an introduction to a reprinted edition of the quoted book by Howard.

In the Ecumenical movement, some of these Malvern statements were discussed in a major event, the first assembly of the World Council of Churches (WCC) in Amsterdam in 1948, where the influence of Temple was also still felt. A key thinker who dealt with environmental themes there was J.H. Oldham (*The Church and the Disorder of Society* 1948, 38, 114–115, 124–125). A year later American Daniel Day Williams (1910–1973), an ecumenical Protestant theologian with Anglican sympathies, cited Malvern ecotheology in his book *God's Grace and Man's Hope* (Williams 1949, 164–165). The book was one of the first theological monographs to include a significant section on ecotheology and through the reference the Malvern statements had a wider reading among theologians and church people.

Theologians and lay people who knew of the environmental statements at Malvern, such as Williams, did participate in the early forms of later environmentalism, such as the Faith-Man-Nature -group, which was active in the US (see Nash 1989). Thus, the Malvern statements were part of the soil from which later (Christian) environmentalism grew, but it is naturally very difficult to define their exact influence. The lack of references to Malvern in sources between 1960s and 1980s shows that most people were not aware of this historical continuity then. When the second Malvern Conference was organized in 1991, the environmental contributions of the original conference were remembered (cf. Arthur 1991), but they did not gain international attention. The only international source that I have found from the 1990s and 2000s which remembers them is by Peter Bakken, a scholar with an unusual knowledge about the history of ecotheology, and even he refers only to Demant's presentation (Bakken 2000, 2 n.3).

Bakken himself has been one of the many Christians who have championed "eco-justice", the integration of social and environmental concerns. The "eco"-prefix refers to both economic and ecological justice, and sometimes environmental and ecological justice are further separated (for the concepts, see Schlosberg 2007). The World Council of Churches has been an influential actor in this regard, along with many eco-justice movements (Bakken, Engel, and Engel 1995; Hessel 2007;

Jenkins 2013, esp. 199–205; Gibson [ed.] 2004). This work can be seen as a continuation of the line of thought manifested in Malvern, although evidence of direct historical influence remains somewhat vague.

This article was originally presented as in the Social Justice conference of 2016, which focused on the legacy of Malvern. The integration of social and environmental justice, which Malvern manifested, has become even more crucial in our current era, where the environmental situation is ever more pressing. Climate change has become the main term for environmental problems in general, and indeed many severe problems such as the loss of biodiversity are linked with it. Among inter-human groups and nations, climate justice has become a key term. Some populations and groups are much more vulnerable to climate change, which makes the connection between social and environmental justice even more crucial (for Christian perspectives, see Kim [ed.] 2016).

The Malvern statements included an emphasis on rural areas and local means of production and economy, a theme which is again much discussed, but this time related to peak oil, climate change and new forms of urban-rural relationships, such as community-supported agriculture. Many aspects of the original Malvern vision are still very relevant.

Summary

In this article, I have shown that the Malvern conference of 1941 included significant environmental reflection. I have discussed its reception and influence, pointing out that the environmental content was noticed both in Britain and internationally. It became part of the soil from which later (Christian) environmentalism grew, even though its exact influence is very difficult to study.

For their part, my results support the view that there indeed was significant “environmentalism before the environmental movement”. An environmental agenda is not a new thing. Furthermore, the results show that Christians took part in these endeavors already at an early stage. Fascinatingly, religious environmentalism was considered as a significant force and potential already in the late 1940s at least by some prominent thinkers, such as Sir Albert Howard. Malvern has a role in environmental history.

In environmental thought and ecotheology, more progressive notions such as intrinsic value of nature (linked to ecological justice) and ecological subjectivity, or interconnectedness, have since Malvern gained stronger prominence. However, some of the Malvern presentations already point to

this direction, even while the final statements manifest stewardship thinking. Vigo A. Demant and Dorothy Sayers included radical thoughts for the time. I pointed out that more research and attention should be directed to the historical significance of ecotheological thought and action from the British Isles.

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End Notes

¹ Yet others include "religion and ecology", "theology of nature" and "theology of creation / creation theology". For analysis of the terms, see Pihkala 2017, Chapter 1. I am using the term theology for Christian theology in this article, but in many instances what I am saying applies to the ways in which "theology" functions in several other religions also, especially in monotheistic ones.

² As is Finland, my own home country, where Lutheranism has been an enormously powerful cultural factor and it is often very difficult to separate Lutheran and other cultural influences from each other. I have found in my research that also Finnish Lutherans participated at a very early stage in nature conservation and environmental work, but this has remained unnoticed even by the representatives of the environmental work of the Lutheran church in the last decades. Cf. Pihkala 2017, Chapter 7.

³ This and the following chapter draw from Pihkala 2017, Chapter 4.

⁴ See also Cunningham's (2004) reflections on Temple and the group: "William Temple was often an ally, but the Christendom Group placed greater emphasis on the need to derive Christian principles about society from Christian doctrine."